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ABSTRACT

The government of Quebec looks to the province's French-language universities for several contributions in strengthening the position of the French Canadian language and culture in Quebec. The enrollments in these universities have increased in the past fifteen years, and French-language universities are expected to educate and train increasing numbers of qualified students to fill key positions in the Quebec economic structure. Problems in the Quebec work world which limit the accessibility of higher-level positions to academically qualified French Canadians have been met by programs of "francophonisation" (intended to make key positions available) and "francisation" (to encourage the use of the French language). Other problems involve apparent cultural differences between French- and English-speaking Canadians. Educational planners have emphasized the goal of economic development while assuming the universities' role as agents of cultural access. They have avoided considering the possibility that the French Canadian national goals of cultural and economic development are incompatible in light of current French Canadian cultural orientations. Differences do exist, then, between the relationship of universities and development in any society, and the concepts and expectations of them as held by French-speaking Quebeckers. (Author/CLK)

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# QUEBEC'S FRENCH-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES AND THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

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# QUEBEC'S FRENCH-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES AND THE POLITICS OF DEVELOPMENT

The post-war period has witnessed a continuing increase in the level of government involvement in the educational systems of virtually all western, industrialized societies. This increase has occurred under a variety of societal and governmental conditions, and at all levels of the educational framework. Increasingly, the western university is regarded as a social institution, performing a public service and vested with a public interest. In the 1960s, governments responded to the change in outlook by providing their universities with increased transfusions from public funds. With this came a greater expectation of services from the universities to society.

Of course, governments'--and people's--expectations vary with the society involved. In the case of French Canada, the Québec provincial government--and French-speaking Quebeckers--now look to their universities for two things. First, in Québec as elsewhere, education has long been perceived as a key element in the process of transmission of language, culture and a sense of nationality. Québec's Francophone writers are in agreement on this point. Concerning the old cultural theme of la survivance, for instance, Audet writes that "The salvation of our ethnic group lies in the survival of our culture through the school, whose quality and development must be improved."[1] And the Québec government's Parent Commission, whose recommendations were at the heart of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, concluded that "The cultural and socio-economic future of Québec, that is to say, its desire not only to survive but to expand and to realize the aspirations that it now cherishes, rests

largely on the system of education it will adopt."[2] In these terms, education is perceived to be of critical importance by every French-speaking Québec nationalist, whether separatist or not.

In recent years, moreover, a new element has been added to the popular perception of Québec's French-language universities' role. For, as the Parent Commission's report made clear, Québec's educational system is now widely perceived not only as an agent of cultural preservation, but also as a key element in the direction of French Canadian development. Brother Anonymous, whose writings sparked many of the changes of the 1960s, wrote that "Our political and economic revolution will operate through a revolution in education."[3]

In Québec as elsewhere, university education has become a key factor in the overall process of human resource development. And in turn, of course, human resource development is an important aspect of overall economic development. But French Canadians do not view economic development purely in terms of economic growth. French-speaking Quebeckers would have little interest in the economic development of their province if most of its benefits were to continue to accrue to members of the non-French-speaking minority.

In the past, members of Québec's English-speaking minority have benefitted more from the province's economic growth than has the French-speaking majority. The "traditional" society of Québec promoted cultural survival at the expense of the economic position of French Canadians within the province. Whether this situation resulted from a conscious choice on the part of French Canadians, from an economic and social situation over which they had no control, or--as is most likely--from some combination of these two factors, the results have been dramatic. The need for changes in French-language education in Québec to reflect

the economic realities of the province was made clear in Donald Armstrong's Education and Economic Acheivement, a document of the federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Armstrong concluded that French Canadians are not ". . . other things being equal, at a serious disadvantage compared to other Canadians."[4]

The problem is that other things, and notably education, have traditionally been neither equal nor equivalent for the two groups. Thus, it is hoped that the equality of educational opportunities between French- and English-speaking Quebeckers--and between their universities--will promote the equality of opportunities between Anglophones and Francophones in the Québec work world.

Historically, of course, higher education has been more readily accessible to members of Québec's English-speaking minority. The restrictive admissions policies and tuition fees of the old collèges classiques, and the limited curricula of the French-language universities, combined to limit access to Québec's French-language universities by members of the French-speaking majority. Thus, the implications of the goal of equal opportunity have seemed far greater for French-speaking Quebeckers than for their English-speaking counterparts. In this light, while equal opportunity is a goal of many developing societies, its significance is greater for Québec society as a whole than for more homogeneous, and largely unilingual, societies.

Historically, too, French-speaking Quebeckers have been clustered near the bottom of the province's economic ladder. It is expected that, as educational opportunities become more nearly equal for French- and English-speaking Quebeckers, the income and economic gap between the two groups will be narrowed. This development implies in turn an increase in esteem for the French Canadian

language and culture in Québec--both esteem on the part of French Canadians for themselves and their own language and culture, and esteem on the part of English-speaking Canadians for the "French fact" in Québec and elsewhere.

Indeed, it is increasingly argued that the future of the French language in Quebec and Canada,[5] with all that it represents, depends on its relative position in the economic structure of Québec. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, for instance, stressed the emptiness of legal guarantees of linguistic and cultural equality in the absence of some equity in the economic sphere. Overall, it concluded that

> Official equality of language has very limited significance if it is not accompanied by equality of economic opportunity. Formal linguistic equality is of little importance to those living under a system that always places them in inferior social and economic conditions. . . (T)he fate of the two cultures and the two dominant languages of Canada, within two distinct societies, ultimately depends on their positions in the work world and in the economy at large.[6]

Since the early 1960s, most federal and Québec provincial government proposals concerning Québec's, and Canada's, linguistic situation have been based on the assumption that the French Canadian language and culture will flourish in the overall society to the extent that they thrive in the economic market place. Planners at both levels of government generally agree that there is little hope for improving the position of the French Canadian language and culture in Québec, and in Canada as a whole, without sustained government action in the educational and economic realms. As will be seen, it is expected that Québec's French-language universities will play an especially crucial role in this process.

The Québec government, then, is looking to its French-language universities to promote simultaneously the province's cultural (or "national") and economic

development. André Barsony, for instance, writes that government investment in higher education will result in "economic growth, cultural development, and equity in the distribution of resources."[7] And a key government commission set as the universities' goal for the 1970s "to contribute significantly and qualitatively to the economic, social and cultural development of Québec."[8]

In Québec, then, the goals of cultural advancement, economic development and equality of opportunity are perceived as being closely linked. And efforts have been made to harness the province's French-language universities in the active pursuit of all three goals.

## QUEBEC'S UNIVERSITIES AND THE WORK WORLD

### The Québec Work World

In January of 1971 the Québec labor force numbered some 2,341,000 persons. Of this number, some 77.7% were French speakers, 14.7% were native English-speakers, and 7.6% claimed some third language as a mother tongue.[9] In Montreal, the percentage of French-speaking workers stood at 64.1%. For the rest of Québec, the proportion rose to 91.3%.[10] Nowhere in Québec, however, do French Canadians possess economic power in proportion to their numbers.

The many recent federal, provincial, university and private studies of the Québec economic structure have all confirmed the relatively low economic position of members of the province's French-speaking majority. The federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism found that the socioeconomic status of French Canadians is below that of Canadians of British extraction, and English-speaking Canadians in general, in terms of income, education, occupation, and industrial ownership.[11]

Since the early 1960s, the economic disparities between the two linguistic groups have been a matter of growing concern to Québec nationalists. More recently, as a result of recent demographic changes in Québec, they have become a key concern to everyone concerned with the future of French Canada.

Until recently, the relatively higher birth-rate of French Canadians tended to ensure that their proportion of the overall population would remain constant even without large-scale assimilation of non-French-speaking outsiders. Given the recent drastic decline in Québec's birth rate, immigration has become the essential determinant of the relative growth of Québec's linguistic groups.

In 1972, fifteen percent of all the immigrants arriving in Québec came from Francophone countries, and forty percent from English-sepaking nations. In recent years, of the immigrants whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French, many more have assimilated to Québec's English-speaking minority than to its Francophone community. If Francophones are to maintain their percentage of the Québec population, this situation must be reversed.

Newcomers to a society may be expected to seek the maximum advantage from it. As has been seen, traditionally the maximum economic advantages in Québec have accrued to members of the English-speaking minority. Thus, the language choices of recent generations of immigrants to Québec should come as no surprise. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concluded that "Clearly, the dominance of English in economic life is the great predisposing factor in the language choices of immigrants."[12] And, as the Québec provincial government's Gendron Commission concluded,

> In spite of the good will and the readiness manifested, especially recently, toward the French language, no substantial progress can be had if its value is not increased on the level of social and economic promotion, the foremost objective of the immigrants and Quebeckers of other origins.[13]

Thus, increasing the economic utility of the French language in Québec is essential to the survival, as well as the development, of French Canada.

## The Role of Education and the New French Canadian Elite

The causes of the economic dispartities between the two major linguistic groups of Québec have been the object of intensive analysis. Students of the problem have agreed that education is of key importance in explaining their persistence. French Canadians in the Canadian labor force tend to have lower average schooling levels than do English-speaking Canadians. And relatively fewer have completed secondary and university studies. In 1961, while thirteen percent of all men of British origin in the Canadian non-agricultural labor force had attended university, for French Canadians the figure was only six percent.[14]

Moreover, as will be seen, of those French Canadians who had attended university, a much larger proportion had taken their degrees in arts and the social sciences, and a much smaller proportion in the natural sciences and engineering, than was true for English-speaking Canadians. As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concluded, "Relatively fewer Francophones had either the level or the kind of educational qualifications required for managerial and professional functions in modern industry."[15]

At present, with overt economic discrimination against French Canadians on the decline in Québec, educational development represents a key to opportunity for French Canada. Overall, the great majority of Québec university

students are now enrolled in the province's French-language institutions. The following table[16] shows the enrollments in the various institutions of Québec's university sector for the academic years 1970-1974.

TABLE I
FULL-TIME ENROLMENTS IN QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES, 1970-1974

| University | 1970-71 | 1971-72 | 1972-73 | 1973-74 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Laval | 11,871 | 11,683 | 11,940 | 11,740 |
| Univ. de Montréal | 12,343 | 13,871 | 14,331 | 14,717 |
| Institut de Hautes Etudes Commerciales | 1,411 | 1,564 | 1,918 | 2,261 |
| Institut Polytechnique | 1,886 | 1,852 | 1,796 | 1,840 |
| Sherbrooke | 4,359 | 4,604 | 5,256 | 5,785 |
| Univ. du Québec | 10,559 | 11,760 | 13,434 | 16,153 |
| TOTAL (FRENCH-LANGUAGE) | 42,429 | 45,334 | 48,675 | 52,496 |
| Bishop's | 1,198 | 600 | 711 | 881 |
| McGill | 14,840 | 14,587 | 15,314 | 14,313 |
| Sir George Williams | 8,526 | 8,561 | 8,291 | 9,696 |
| TOTAL (ENGLISH-LANGUAGE) | 24,564 | 23,748 | 24,316 | 24,890 |
| OVERALL TOTALS | 66,993 | 69,082 | 72,991 | 77,386 |

Obviously, the new proportions will not change the situation in the Québec work world overnight. Nevertheless, in 1981 the proportion of French-speaking Quebeckers pursuing university degrees should equal or surpass that of their English-speaking compatriots.[17] Of itself, this development will have a considerable impact on the realities of Québec's economic structure in the years to come.

But the increased proportion of French Canadians attending Québec universities will not assure an automatic increase in the French Canadian presence in key sectors of the Québec economy. If such an increase is to occur, greater

numbers of French-speaking university students must be prepared to fill positions in certain key areas. For example, Armstrong found that university business, engineering and science faculties have produced over eighty percent of Canada's "top management."[18]

Traditionally, of course, the curricula of Québec's French-language universities have emphasized general training in the arts and humanities as a preparation for the liberal professions and other vocations of the traditional French Canadian elite. Even where employment opportunities might have existed, few university-educated French-speaking Quebeckers were trained for positions of business and industrial leadership, or in other areas essential to modern or developing economies. Instead, graduates of Québec's English-language institutions, and outsiders, filled the gap. In 1929, the proportion of degrees awarded in commerce to those in arts at McGill was 25 to 104, or about one in four. For the Université de Montréal and Laval the proportion was 17 to 327, or about one in twenty. In engineering and science, Laval and Montreal awarded 46 degrees out of a total of 896 in all areas. McGill awarded 118 out of 391.[19]

Whether this situation was brought on by French Canadian cultural and social patterns, a French Canadian value system at odds with the ideals of a modern economic structure, disparities in economic information available to English- and French-language institutions and students, or other causes, the results have been dramatic. Indeed, some English-speaking students have blamed the economic impotence of French Canada almost exclusively on the absence of qualified French Canadian candidates to fill key positions. In a study published in 1973, for instance, R. N. Morrison argued that French

Canadians are not under-represented in business management if one considers the availability of French Canadians with an educational background in business. If anything, Morrison found, qualified French Canadians are over-represented in Québec business, commanding a salary premium of ten to twenty-five percent over their English-speaking colleagues.[20]

Despite the limitations of their economic information networks, since 1960 Québec's French-language universities, and the new government agencies for university-level education, have attempted to adapt to the perceived needs and requirements of the province's businesses and industries. The new university charters and organizational frameworks are intended to promote this adaption. Departments, schools and research centers have been created or expanded in areas believed to be of special importance. Attempts have been made to associate the programs and research projects under way at the various universities. These changes have been accompanied by profound alterations in French Canadians' perceptions of the needs and aspirations of their society.

In recent years, the new university programs and new attitudes have led to an increase in the availability of French Canadians trained and willing to work in business and other key areas. Thus, in Québec most of the French Canadians qualified for key high-level positions are heavily concentrated in the lower age groups. For instance, Dofny found that seventy-two percent of all French Canadian engineers in Montréal, but only fifty-three percent of their English-speaking counterparts were under forty years of age. The young members of the new French Canadian elite are in the vanguard of political, social and economic efforts to enhance the relative postions of members of Québec's French-speaking majority within the province.[22]

As the number of French Canadians enrolled in key areas of instruction has increased, so the proportion of French-language students enrolled in traditional areas has declined. As the following table[23] shows, at the Université du Québec a slow reduction is visible in the proportion of students enrolled in the arts and humanities and social sciences. Moreover, the traditional disciplines are declining in popularity on the CEGEP level as well.[24]

TABLE II

SECTORS OF DECLINING ENROLLMENT,
UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC 1971-74

| | |
|---|---|
| Lettres, sciences religieuses, philosophie | -5% |
| Etudes plurisectorielles | -47% |
| Theologie | -26% |
| Sciences sociales | -1% |

And, while education majors accounted for 31.4% of all Université du Québec students in 1971, by 1974 this figure had declined to 22.5%.[25]

On the other hand, the table which follows[26] shows the proportional increase in registrations in several key areas at the Université du Québec for the same period:

TABLE III

SECTORS OF INCREASING ENROLLMENT,
UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC, 1971-74

| | |
|---|---|
| Administration | 85% |
| Psychologie | 82% |
| Sciences biologiques | 100% |
| Sciences publiques et communautaires | 100% |
| Mathematiques | 58% |
| Ingenierie | 53% |

Overall, the percentage of Université du Québec students majoring in business

administration rose from 12.8% in 1971 to 19.2% in 1974.[27] The following table[28] shows the overall distribution of registrations of students of the premier cycle at the Université du Québec in 1973-74:

TABLE IV

REGISTRATIONS BY SECTOR FOR PREMIER CYCLE STUDENTS, UNIVERSITE DU QUEBEC, 1973-74

| | Part-Time | Full-Time | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|
| SCIENCES DE LA SANTE | | | |
| Sciences de la sante | 24 | 77 | 101 |
| SCIENCES PURES ET APPLIQUEES | | | |
| Design de l'environnement | 71 | 13 | 84 |
| Sciences biologiques | 553 | 251 | 804 |
| Ingenierie | 404 | 220 | 624 |
| Sciences domestiques | | 2 | 2 |
| Mathematiques | 235 | 1212 | 1447 |
| Sciences physiques | 316 | 209 | 525 |
| SCIENCES HUMANINES | | | |
| Education | 1328 | 4402 | 5730 |
| Psychologie | 1003 | 1620 | 2623 |
| Sciences sociales | 1056 | 780 | 1836 |
| Theologie | 127 | 187 | 314 |
| SCIENCES DE L'ADMINISTRATION | | | |
| Administration des affaires | 944 | 3143 | 4087 |
| ARTS | | | |
| Beaux-arts et arts appliquees | 819 | 482 | 1301 |
| LETTRES | | | |
| Langues | 2 | 18 | 20 |
| Lettres, Sciences religieuses, philosophie | 760 | 958 | 1718 |
| AUTRES | | | |
| Biblioteconomie | | 1 | 1 |
| Services publics et communautaires | 394 | 84 | 478 |
| Etudes plurisectorielles | 400 | 285 | 685 |
| LIBRE, AUDITEUR, PROPEDEUTIQUE | 57 | 773 | 830 |

Such tables are incomplete, however, without comparisons with registrations at English-language universities in each of these fields. The table which follows[29] shows the percentage of diplomas awarded in various disciplines by Québec's English- and French-language universities in 1964 and 1970:

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE OF DIPLOMAS AWARDED BY DISCIPLINE
IN QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES, 1964 AND 1970

| Universities and year | French-language | | English-language | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Discipline | 1964 | 1970 | 1964 | 1970 | 1964 | 1970 |
| Resources naturelles | 5.7% | 4.1 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 4.5 | 3.2 |
| Arts, humanites et sciences sociales | 15.6 | 18.8 | 12.5 | 21.1 | 14.6 | 19.5 |
| Sciences | 4.4 | 6.2 | 26.7 | 28.5 | 11.4 | 13.6 |
| Affaires | 11.7 | 12.2 | 19.7 | 18.3 | 14.2 | 14.2 |
| Education | 5.5 | 9.6 | 1.4 | 2.1 | 4.2 | 7.1 |
| Genie | 11.7 | 11.0 | 17.7 | 12.2 | 13.6 | 11.4 |
| Santé | 24.3 | 18.8 | 8.6 | 7.4 | 19.4 | 15.0 |
| Droit | 8.9 | 7.4 | 5.9 | 4.2 | 7.9 | 6.4 |
| Théologie | 8.1 | 7.1 | .7 | .5 | 5.8 | 4.9 |
| Autres | 4.1 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 4.3 | 4.4 | 4.7 |

Table V reveals that in 1964 and again in 1970, French Canadian universities awarded a higher percentage of degrees in the "traditional" disciplines than was true for Québec's English-language universities. On the other hand, in the so-called "key areas" of science and business, French-language universities continued to award proportionately fewer degrees than did their English-language counterparts. These gaps must be closed if French Canadians are to participate in, and benefit from, the economic development of Québec in proportion to their numbers. In the pages which follow, an attempt is made to ascertain whether the gap is in fact narrowing. The analysis will begin with an examination of several of the "traditional" feilds, before moving to the "key" areas.

In 1970, as Table V shows, Québec's French-language universities awarded a slightly lower percentage of degrees in the arts, humanities and social sciences than did the English-language institutions. Universities of both

languages, however, awarded a higher proportion of degrees in these areas in the 1960s than in any previous decade, as Table VI[30] reveals:

TABLE VI

DIPLOMAS AWARDED IN ARTS, HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SICNECE IN QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES BY DECADE, 1930-1969 AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL DIPLOMAS

| Decade | 1930-1939 | 1940-1949 | 1950-1959 | 1960-1969 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Universities | | | | |
| French-language | 731 | 1,970 | 2,803 | 9,062 |
| | 15.1% | 21.8 | 17.8 | 23.2 |
| English-language | 917 | 890 | 1,402 | 5,906 |
| | 18.7 | 10.6 | 9.3 | 22.2 |
| TOTAL | 1,648 | 2,860 | 4,205 | 14,968 |
| | 16.9 | 16.4 | 13.6 | 22.8 |

Overall, for the decade of the 1960s, the proportion of French-language university graduates majoring in these fields was hardly greater than that of English-language university graduates.

For French Canadians, theology has been another "traditional" area of specialization in university studies. As Table V has shown, a much larger percentage of the diplomas awarded by Québec's French-language universities were in theology than was true for the English-language institutions. However, as Table VII[31] reveals, recent French-language university graduates are less likely than their predecessors to have majored in this area:

TABLE VII

FRENCH-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITY GRADUATES IN THEOLOGY BY AGE GROUP, AND THEIR PERCENTAGE OF ALL GRADUATES BY AGE GROUP, 1970

| Age Groups | Number | Percentage | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25-29 years | 1,151 | 5.3 | 1,185 | 3.5 |
| 30-34 | 979 | 7.4 | 1,006 | 5.5 |
| 35-39 | 608 | 8.0 | 639 | 5.8 |
| 40-44 | 459 | 7.9 | 457 | 5.3 |
| 45-49 | 408 | 8.8 | 415 | 5.6 |
| 50-54 | 273 | 9.4 | 278 | 7.0 |
| 55-59 | 238 | 10.4 | 247 | 7.7 |
| 60-64 | 134 | 8.0 | 139 | 5.7 |
| Total | 4,230 | 7.1 | 4,366 | 4.9 |

Thus, while the difference in the proportion of French- and English-language university graduates majoring in theology remains significant, nonetheless the percentage of French-language university theology majors is declining.

In education, another traditional area for French Canadian university students, Table V has shown that in 1964 and 1970 Québec's French-language institutions produced a considerably higher percentage of majors than did the English-language universities. According to Table VIII[32], while universities of both groups turned out increasing percentages of education majors in recent years, the increase has been far more noticeable in the French-language sector.

TABLE VIII

EDUCATION DIPLOMAS AWARDED BY QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES, AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL DIPLOMAS AWARDED, BY DECADE, 1930-1969

| Decade / Universities | 1930-1939 | 1940-1949 | 1950-1959 | 1960-1969 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| French-language | 47 | 230 | 456 | 4,421 |
| | 1.0 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 11.3 |
| English-language | 13 | 126 | 286 | 580 |
| | .3 | 1.5 | 1.9 | 2.2 |
| Total | 60 | 356 | 742 | 5,001 |
| | .6 | 2.0 | 2.4 | 7.6 |

The gap between the proportions of French-and English-language university graduates majoring in education was maintained and even increased in the 1960s, no doubt because of the tremendous expansion of Québec's French-language educational sector during the decade.

Finally, in the "traditional" field of law, Table V reveals that a higher percentage of French-language university graduates in 1964 and 1970 was awarded law degrees than was true at the province's English-language institutions. Nonetheless, Table IX[33] indicates that the gap has become smaller among more recent graduates:

TABLE IX

LAW GRADUATES OF QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES BY AGE GROUP, AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL GRADUATES, BY AGE GROUP, 1970

| | Universities | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age Group | French-language | | English-language | | Total | |
| 25-29 years | 1,427 | 6.6 | 291 | 2.4 | 1,718 | 5.1 |
| 30-34 | 741 | 5.6 | 169 | 3.2 | 910 | 4.9 |
| 35-39 | 596 | 7.9 | 232 | 6.7 | 828 | 7.5 |
| 40-44 | 505 | 9.1 | 213 | 7.0 | 718 | 8.4 |
| 45-49 | 415 | 9.0 | 155 | 5.5 | 570 | 7.6 |
| 50-54 | 209 | 7.2 | 40 | 3.9 | 249 | 6.3 |
| 55-59 | 237 | 10.3 | 57 | 6.4 | 294 | 9.2 |
| 60-64 | 262 | 15.7 | 79 | 10.3 | 341 | 14.0 |
| Total | 4,392 | 7.4 | 1,236 | 4.2 | 5,628 | 6.3 |

In law, then, the gap--though it still exists--has narrowed considerably over the years.

In all, then, Quebec's French-language universities have trained, and are continuing to train, a greater percentage of their students in the "traditional" disciplines than has been true for its English-language institutions. Nonetheless, the patterns of registrations for each discipline over time have been different.

In the arts, humanities and social sciences, the gap would appear to have almost disappeared. In law and theology, while the percentage of majors remains significantly higher at French-than at English-language institutions, their proportion among French-language university graduates has declined in recent years. In education, while the percentage of majors has risen at universities of both languages, the rise has been much greater at the French-language institutions. Thus, despite the recent changes in French-language universities' course offerings, it cannot be said that the gap between French- and English-speaking Quebeckers' registrations is disappearing, or even narrowing, in all of the traditional disciplines.

On the other hand, it the "new" fields now seen as key to improving the position of French Canadians in the Québec economy, Table V has shown that Quebec's French-language universities have produced proportionately fewer graduates than have the English-language institutions. One such field, as Table V has indicated, is business administration. Table X[34] shows that, contrary to what might be expected, the percentage of French-speaking university graduates with degrees in business does not increase uniformly for the lower age groups:

TABLE X

BUSINESS GRADUATES OF QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES BY AGE GROUP, AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL UNIVERSITY GRADUATES, BY AGE GROUP, 1970

| Age Group | Universities: French-language | | Universities: English-language | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25-29 years | 2,376 | 11.0 | 1,873 | 15.8 | 4,249 | 12.7 |
| 30-34 | 1,846 | 14.0 | 1,128 | 21.3 | 2,974 | 16.1 |
| 35-39 | 979 | 12.9 | 778 | 22.8 | 1,757 | 16.0 |
| 40-44 | 636 | 11.5 | 694 | 23.0 | 1,330 | 15.5 |
| 45-49 | 631 | 13.7 | 542 | 19.2 | 1,173 | 15.7 |
| 50-54 | 372 | 12.8 | 99 | 9.6 | 471 | 11.9 |
| 55-59 | 296 | 12.9 | 109 | 12.2 | 405 | 12.7 |
| 60-64 | 128 | 7.7 | 109 | 14.2 | 237 | 9.7 |

Likewise, Table V indicates an astounding difference in the percentages of degrees awarded in science in Québec's English-and French-language universities. As Table XI[35] shows, this gap does not seem to have become smaller in the years since 1930.

TABLE XI

SCIENCE DIPLOMAS AWARDED BY QUEBEC UNIVERSITIES, AND PERCENTAGE OF ALL DIPLOMAS, BY DECADE, 1930-1969

| Universities | Period 1930-1939 | 1940-1949 | 1950-1959 | 1969-1969 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| French-language | 200 | 508 | 809 | 2,873 |
| | 4.1 | 5.6 | 5.1 | 7.4 |
| English-language | 907 | 2,577 | 3,904 | 7,850 |
| | 18.5 | 30.6 | 25.9 | 29.6 |
| Total | 1,107 | 3,085 | 4,713 | 10,723 |
| | 11.3 | 17.7 | 15.3 | 16.4 |

Taken together, the figues for business administration and science majors clearly reveal that, while students at Quebec's French-language universities are moving into the "key" academic disciplines in increasing numbers, they are not doing so in as dramatic proportions or numbers as is often supposed. With their new charters, organization and facilities, the universities are providing greater opportunity for their graduates than was formerly the case. But their students are not always responding to the changes. In short, the French-language institutions are still not preparing an adequate proportion of their students in the key areas. The shortage of qualified French-speaking employment candidates in these areas has been alleviated, but not overcome, by the educational reforms of the Quiet Revolution.

The Remaining Problems-Francophonisation and Francisation

In any case, providing equal and equivalent education to equal proportions of English-and French-speaking Quebeckers would lessen, but not solve, the

overall program. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism computed that, with equal educational levels for Canadians of French and British descent, differences observed in occupational distributions would not be eliminated, but narrowed by sixty percent. While Roger Charbonneau found that, overall, the language of a Quebec engineer had little or no influence on his income, he also discovered that salaries above $16,000 appeared to be more accessible to engineers with degrees from English-language universities.[36] In part, Charbonneau explained his findings in terms of the "anglophone character" of the upper administration of the large companies, which leads in turn to a relative lack of interest in such positions even among those French Canadians otherwise qualified to fill them.

Even a dramatic increase in the availability of qualified French Canadians for positions in the key areas will not enhance their position in the Québec work world without fundamental changes in the practices of the work world itself, and in its image as perceived by French Canadians. In part, these changes will involve efforts to mesh Québec's two economic networks. In part, they will involve efforts to integrate the Québec industrial and business worlds with the French Canadian milieu.

One can assume that in the past, at least some French Canadian university students chose to specialize in their chosen fields because they correctly surmised that there was no place for them in other areas. To the extent that their assumption was correct, the writings and conclusions of students like Morrison and Armstrong, who have focused their attention on the supply of qualified French Canadians available for key positions, are incomplete.

Overall, important differences exist in the analyses of the Québec work world of French-and English-speaking Canadians. In general, as has been said, Francophones and Anglophones are not in agreement as to the needs and aspirations of their own group, and as to those of the other. English-speaking students like Morrison and Armstrong have tended to explain the French Canadian economic position in terms of the relative lack of highly skilled French Canadians. In turn, French-speaking students have emphasized the problems of economic information communication, and the cultural and linguistic "alienation" said to be necessary for a qualified French Canadian to advance in Québec business and industry. Certainly elements of all three views must be used to provide a valid explanation of the French Canadian predicament in the Québec work world. As the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism noted in concluding its examination of the experiences of Hydro-Québec,[37]

> The study of Hydro-Québec shows how closely supply and demand of qualified personnel are related. Custom in recruiting and language of work seem to have contributed as much as technical training--or the lack of it--to the division of work between the two linguistic groups. Francophones did not occupy key positions, but this was not necessarily because of a lack of technical and administrative training. If they were not trained differently in their professional schools, it was also because of the paucity of opportunities open to them.[38]

It may be assumed that many French-speaking Quebeckers are unwilling to accept an employment position which would place them outside of the French Canadian social and cultural environment. This assumption adds importance to the efforts of Québec's government and universities to integrate the industrial and business worlds of the province with its French Canadian milieu. To the extent that these efforts are successful, members of Québec's French-speaking majority may more easily participate in, and benefit from, Québec's economic development in proportion to their numbers.

The government programs of the francophonisation--and eventual francisation--of Québec business have been formulated against a background of the imperatives imposed by the need to enhance the position of the French Canadian language and culture as perceived by immigrants to Québec, and by the growing impatience of members of the new, university-trained elite. The latter, of course, are demanding increased access to positions of power in the Québec economy, without sacrificing their linguistic and cultural orientations as members of the French Canadian society.

Québec's Gendron Commission, which studied the situation of the French Canadian language and culture in the province, urged the provincial government to adapt and enforce an overall policy of francophonisation in Québec business and industry. Such a policy, the commission specified, would be aimed at increasing the number of French-speaking Quebeckers holding important positions in these fields. It made clear that the province's universities are to be deeply involved:

> We recommend that the Government, in consultation with university administrators, plan university education in terms of the program adopted to promote the increase of French-speaking senior personnel.[39]

Overall, in response to political and social pressures, Québec's large business and industrial firms have increased their efforts to hire the graduates of French-language universities who compose the new French Canadian elite. Indeed, as has been seen, in certain fields qualified French Canadians actually command a considerable salary premium. Moreover, given the current demand, companies may experience difficulties in retaining qualified French Canadians. And the mobility of French Canadian employees is restricted by the refusal of many to consider relocation in English-speaking areas of Canada outside Québec.

Further, the requirement of bilingualism is perceived as a barrier to employment by many French-speaking Quebeckers, even fluently bilingual ones. And French Canadians' perceptions of "big business" predisposes many against working for large firms. The provincial government and Québec's smaller firms continue to offer French Canadians a greater opportunity to work in a French-language environment.

Despite these problems, the _francophonisation_ policies of Quebec's provincial government, coupled with the overall economic and social processes already discussed, have had a considerable effect on the Québec work world. Indeed, as members of the new French speaking elite seek control of existing businesses and industries, and the creation of new ones, in some instances the domain separation of the two languages is shifting. For the young, university-trained French Canadians occupying key positions, as one linguist has put it, "...English has become increasingly superfluous in view of its lack of domain separation and situational need.[40]

Thus, for valid functional reasons as well as for symbolic reasons and a desire to become _les maitres chez nous_, French Canadians are demanding that, wherever possible, French be the internal language of work for Québec businesses. Québec's government, with its universities and other social institutions, has responded to this popular desire with a policy of promoting the _francisation_ of Québec businesses, which are called on to adopt French as their primary working language--_français, langue de travail_.

In Québec at present, as Table XII[41] shows, the more educated a person is--regardless of his native language--, the less he will use French at work:

TABLE XII

AVERAGE USE OF FRENCH ON THE JOB AMONG QUEBEC WORKERS, BY MOTHER TONGUE AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL--SURVEY PUBLISHED IN 1973

| Educational Level | Time for Persons Whose Native Language Is- | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | French | English | Other |
| Ph.D. | 83.2% | 11.3%* | 26.8%* |
| Honors B.A., Licence, M.A., Professional Degree | 84.4% | 10.7% | 29.4% |
| B.A., 15 years and over | 83.0% | 17.4% | 32.0% |
| 12 to 14 years | 79.4% | 18.1% | 24.2% |
| 9 to 11 years | 84.8% | 20.7% | 32.2% |
| 6 to 8 years | 92.2% | 25.0% | 41.2% |
| 2 to 5 years | 95.3% | 34.2%* | 47.2% |

(Asterik represents estimate based on fewer than thirty cases)

In general, English is most used in the higher-level professions, where university graduates are most likely to be found. Table XIII[42] shows one student's estimate of the utilization of French on the job at different occupational levels:

TABLE XIII

AVERAGE USE OF FRENCH ON THE JOB IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS, BY MOTHER TONGUE--SURVEY PUBLISHED IN 1973

| Occupation | Persons Whose Native Language Is- | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | French | English | Other |
| Administrator | 88.2% | 16.4% | 35.0% |
| Professional | 88.1% | 15.7% | 26.5% |
| Office Job (clerical) | 78.7% | 14.3% | 33.1% |
| Salesperson | 83.3% | 19.6% | 39.6% |
| Service Employee | 87.1% | 21.1% | 36.3% |
| Transport Employee | 85.0% | 19.1% | 26.3% |
| Overseer | 87.7% | 22.3% | 34.2% |
| Worker, secondary level | 90.6% | 24.0% | 37.8% |
| Worker, primary level | 97.4% | 12.4%* | 100.0%* |

(Asterisk represents estimate based on fewer than thirty cases)

All in all, the Gendron Commission concluded that the use of English in Québec is most widespread in jobs entailing "superior duties involving initiative and command, and large enterprises, and high levels of income and education."[43]

The knowledge and use of English, then, represent the key for gaining entry to the higher levels of Québec business management. A recent survey reveals that Québec's French-speaking students and teachers are unanimous in their assertion that a knowledge of English is more important in the Québec work world than is a knowledge of French.[44]

Of course, English will always maintain an important place in Québec business, given the exigencies of the North American economy. In this light, many Québec businessmen have argued that the extension of French as a language of work in Québec firms is an impossibility. The various government commissions which have studied the problem, however, have not shared this belief. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, for instance, concluded that the fact of Anglophone predominance in the upper occupational levels has produced what it termed "arbitrary pressures to its use beyond those exerted by the business environment."[45]

Attachment to one's language implies an attachment to one's overall cultural environment. The Parent Commission based its report on the view that language implies a way of thinking and being as well as a mere vehicle for the expression of ideas. At present, young university-trained French Canadians must choose at times between achieving success on the job and endangering, or losing, their cultural identity, of which language is an important element. To overcome the problem, the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended that a number of specific measures be taken,

noting that "... the overall effect of our recommendations should be the establishment of French as the principal language of work at all levels within the Québec economy."[46]

In line with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and of the provincial Gendron Commission, Québec's Official Languages Act--"Law 22"--was passed in 1974. This law established French as the sole official language of Québec. English and French were both designated "national languages" of the province. Under the terms of the law, French must be adopted as the language of internal communications for all commercial and industrial enterprises in Québec.

In April of 1977 the separatist government of Premier Rene Levesque introduced legislation designed to strengthen further the position of French in Québec. While the new "Bill One" deals primarily with the position of French in legal and educational institutions, its effect will be to promote or require the use of French throughout Québec, thus strengthening the requirements of Law 22, while severely restricting access to the province's English-language schools.

The overall effects of the new and proposed legislation will not be fully apparent for years. Nonetheless, Law 22 has already had a considerable impact on the Québec work world. One recent study reveals that French is being increasingly utilized on the job by recent graduates of the Université de Montréal, while their use of English is decreasing.[46] Moreover, bilingualism is required of many new English-speaking employees in higher-level positions in Québec business.

Québec's universities are playing an important role in the francisation programs. The English-language universities, already increasingly integrated in the province's overall university "network," are called on to prepare their students for fuller integration into Québec society by emphasizing the French Canadian language and culture in their curricula. The French-language universities, of course, are called on to prepare increasing numbers of qualified French-speaking Quebeckers to occupy positions in the key areas of Québec business, and to occupy them in French.

This last point is especially important. Québec's French-language universities must train the new French Canadian elite not only to work well, but to work in French wherever possible, even in an indifferent or even hostile business environment. If the universities do not fill this function, the overall francisation program has no chance of success in the key areas at which it is most especially directed.

Serious problems face the universities in this area. The first of these involves the attitude of the students concerned. One recent study reveals that, French Canadian nationalism notwithstanding, a definite correlation exists between even French-speaking teachers' and students' motivation to teach or learn French, and the language's economic and social value.[47] Of course, the economic worth of French cannot be enhanced if members of the new French Canadian elite are not anxious to work in French wherever possible.

Another problem, and one to which provincial officials have apparently given little attention, involves the textbooks used at Québec's French-language universities. In key areas such as business administration, French textbooks are often badly adapted to the North American economic context,

necessitating the use of English Canadian or American textbooks. With much of their training based on these texts, and with English the predominant language of work at the higher occupational levels anyway, many French Canadians are more at ease in English than in French in their business dealings. Moreover, even while speaking French a French Canadian with such an educational background may have placed himself partially outside his own culture. As one author concluded long ago, "... the drama of our universities is wishing to think American and speak French."[48]

Overall, this problem could be overcome only by replacing the English textbooks and manuals by specially commissioned French Canadian texts, written in French but reflecting the economic context of Canada and North America. Given the small number of students in the key areas where such textbooks are most needed, only government aid on a massive scale could finance the cost of writing them. At present, a marginal investment is needed to publish an English-language Canadian edition of a United States textbook. To publish a French-language edition of the same text, a submarginal investment is required.

To date, it is unclear what government agency would have the authority to sponsor a textbook program.[49] In the absence of government action, the new process of "validation" of educational textbooks and materials will mean fewer English Canadian textbook editions, and still fewer French Canadian editions. In turn, this will lead to an increase in pressure for a greater use of English in both teaching and research. Such pressure will be especially acute at the university and post-graduate levels. Moreover, it will undoubtedly

be greatest precisely in the key departments and faculties where an increase in the use of French is essential if the overall program of francisation is to succeed.

Overall, then, given the present priorities and programs of the provincial government, and its limited financial resources, it appears that Québec's universities will be unable to contribute fully to the francisation of Québec's business. Once again, they are providing less than their optimal possible contribution to the realization of the French Canadian national goal of equal opportunity for Quebeckers.

## A Final Problem

More seriously, recent research would seem to call into question the basic assumption on which Quebec's educational reforms and aspirations have been based. As has been seen, in recent years Québec educational and developmental planners have assumed that the French Canadian national developmental goals of cultural development, economic development and equal opportunity can be pursued to the fullest, simultaneously. To the extent that the goals conflict, of course, this assumption is incorrect. And the question properly arises as to whether the cultural patterns which Québec's government looks to the universities to shape and transmit, are compatible with the economic and developmental goals discussed in this study.

With what novelist Hugh MacLennan calls Canada's "two solitudes" presently face to face in the economic world, it is imperative to consider whether such factors as the vagaries of the French Canadian information system, the unique French Canadian employment patterns, French Canadians'

educational preferences and overall economic position, and French Canadian perceptions of the work world, are partly the results of cultural values at odds with what has been called the "industrial culture."[50]

As has been seen, important differences exist in the analyses of the Québec work world of French- and English-speaking Canadians. These differences are relevant to the present discussion of cultural differences. Members of both groups agree that the French Canadian economic position can presently be explained in terms of the relative lack of highly skilled French Canadians to fill the "key" economic positions. There is no agreement, however, on the cause of this lack.

As has already been implied, most French-speaking students have explained the shortage in terms of a realistic assessment by French Canadians of the opportunities open to them. They have centered their analyses on the problem of economic information communication, of the alleged unwillingness of English-speaking employers to hire qualified French Canadians for the "key" positions, and on similar, related problems. On the other hand, most English-speaking students have explained the shortage largely in terms of alleged cultural differences between French- and English-speaking Canadians. While elements of both analyses are undoubtedly correct, to the extent that relevant cultural differences can be shown to exist between French- and English-speaking Canadians, the advantage would seem to lie with the conclusions of such English-speaking writers as Morrison and Armstrong.

Several students have concluded that few cultural differences exist between members of the two groups in the areas they investigated. Porter and Pineo, for instance, found that, when asked to rate occupations and

industries by their social standing and by other standards, both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians were in general agreement.[51] In this respect, they concluded, French Canadians do indeed share in the larger "industrial culture" of Canada. Moreover, Dofny's study of Montréal engineers[52] revealed that, in spite of the differences in their actual employment patterns, both English-speaking and French Canadian engineers in Montreal showed a strong preference for employment in private industry. And the recent increases in French-language universities' emphasis, and student enrollments, in the "key" areas of business, engineering and science would seem to indicate an increasing acceptance of the "industrial culture" on the part of French-speaking Quebeckers.

On the other hand, of the authors of studies for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism who touched on this topic, all but Dofny and Pineo and Porter concluded that French- and English-speaking Quebeckers do share unequally in the "industrial culture" of Québec. In their study of Montreal's construction industry, for instance, Briant and Hadekel found that French Canadians exhibited a "parochial attitude"[53] varying in intensity with the size of the firms studied. Of course, most French Canadians work in small firms.

In a more emphatic vein, Auclair and Read concluded their cross-cultural comparison of management personnel and business school students by asserting that, whatever their education, "French Canadians, as a cultural group, are not ready to assume the responsibilities of top management positions because they are not sufficiently economic-oriented."[54] Their conclusion is based on a lengthy consideration of French Canadians' concepts

of leadership practices, their "economic orientation, and their work motivation.

Most significantly, Auclair and Read discovered that the cultural differences between English-speaking and French Canadian business people do not diminish significantly when one restricts the consideration to young people, or to people with university degrees. They concluded that the differences cited are as pronounced among current business school students as among the managers surveyed. In light of their findings, the authors concluded their study as follows:

> . . . the work the French Canadian is actively engaged in does not meet the basic social and psychological needs that his culture has given him. Industrial activity has no meaning for him because personal growth within an industrial organization cannot possibly enhance personal feelings of self-worth or his self-esteem. On the contrary, individual success can only serve to detract from the realization of peace-of-mind that all individuals strive for and obtain in an environment which is compatible with one's self-image. This is the basic conflict that the French Canadian must face head-on and solve above all others.[55]

In their own studies, Johnstone,[56] Frankel[57] and Briant and Hadekel reached much the same conclusion concerning other sectors of French Canadian society as that of Auclair and Read concerning business managers and students.

Most English-speaking students have viewed the differences in orientation as evidence of deep-seated cultural differences between English-and French-speaking Canadians in regard to the business world and the "economic orientation" in general. On the other hand, many French Canadian students, and some English-speaking writers, have argued that this opposition is more a specific reaction to the business world as it has existed in Québec.

The dispute is probably an insoluble one. No doubt both analyses are true in part. But what is important here is that real differences, regardless of whether they are based on deep-seated cultural antagonisms or merely reactions to past and present realities, do exist between the business attitudes and "economic orientations" of French-and English-speaking Quebeckers. Overall, regardless of their cause, the differences will have important implications for the capacity of Québec's universities to play the role which has been assigned them since 1960.

As has been seen, most French Canadians would argue that their language and culture can be expected to thrive in Québec to the extent that they thrive in the Québec economic market place. Few Quebec planners have seriously considered the implications of the possibility that the national goals of economic and cultural development might be incompatible in light of the current French Canadian cultural orientations. To the extent that these orientations are at odds with the "economic orientation," the economic development of Québec can occur only at the expense of the cultural development of French Canada.

Moreover, a dichotomy between the goals of economic and cultural development can be shown to exist on a more basic level, involving the Québec government's efforts at <u>francophonisation</u> and <u>francisation</u> of the Québec work world. To the extent that these programs succeed, they may be expected to improve the overall position of French Canadians within the Québec economy. But this improvement will be had only at the expense of the goal of overall economic development. André Breton argues convincingly that such policies as the Québec government's programs imply the use of a non-economic rationale for investment, resulting in a net decrease in productivity and income.[58]

Thus, the new programs can be expected to strengthen the position of the French Canadians within the Québec economy only by restricting the realization of the goal of economic growth and development.

In short, the goals of economic and cultural development appear to be somewhat at odds. To date, the implications of this fact have not been fully considered by Québec educational and linguistic planners. While this failure represents a significant shortcoming, it is likely that the remaining cultural differences will be lessened between French-and English-speaking Canadians in Québec, as French-speaking Quebeckers continue to improve their economic position in the Québec work world.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In view of the demands of French Canadian nationalists within Québec, of a number of economic and demographic imperatives, and of the new popular perception of universities in the province, the Québec government looks to the province's French-language universities for several contributions in strengthening the position of the French Canadian language and culture in Québec. First, the enrollments of Québec's French-language universities have increased remarkably in the past fifteen years. Departments and faculties in "key" areas, such as business administration, engineering and the sciences, have been created or expanded. These developments alone will tend to promote equal opportunity in Québec.

Second, the French-language universities are expected to educate and train increasing numbers of qualified students to fill key positions in the Québec economic structure. Despite this second goal, however, important

differences remain in the percentages of students enrolled in various areas at Québec's English- and French-language universities. Overall, the French-language institutions are still training a higher percentage of their students in the "traditional" disciplines, despite a narrowing of the gap in the arts, humanities and social sciences, and in law and theology. As a corollary, it would appear that Québec's French-language universities are still not producing an adequate proportion of their students in the key areas.

English-speaking students of the Québec economy, Morrison and Armstrong among them, have tended to emphasize the relative lack of qualified French Canadian candidates in explaining the traditional dearth of French Canadians in key positions. French-speaking students have emphasized that, in any case, problems remain in the Quebec work world which would tend to limit the accessibility of higher-level positions even to those academically qualified French Canadians who are anxious to fill them. In response to these problems, the provincial government has heeded the calls of French Canadian nationalists for a program of francophonisation of Québec business and industry. This program is intended to open key positions in the Québec economic structure to members of the new, university-trained French Canadian elite.

The provincial francophonisation program faces important problems, including the current high demand for the limited number of qualified French Canadians available, and the image of big business among French Canadians. Nevertheless, the francophonisation program has produced results. Its very success has led to demands for more change in the Québec work world, as francophonisation has led to a breakdown in the old equilibrium of language domain separation.

At present, among both English- and French-speaking Quebeckers, the use of French on the job decreases at the higher salary and occupational levels. Many Québec businessmen argue that this linguistic situation is inevitable given the exigencies of the North American economy. French Canadian nationalists, and federal and provincial government commissions, have argued that it is unfair to offer French Canadians access to key positions in the Québec economy only at the price of abandoning their language and culture at work. Québec's Law 22, and the proposed Bill One, relfect this view.

In the area of francisation, as in that of francophonisation, however, one can only conclude that Québec's universities are not contributing fully because their efforts are not viewed as central to the success of the overall program. Québec's French-language universities must train members of the new French Canadian elite to work well, and to work in French wherever possible, in an indifferent or even hostile environment. At present, due to the lack of suitable French-language textbooks and teaching methods, many members of the new elite are more at ease--and more competent--working in English than working in their native French. The provincial government has not seriously considered granting the aid needed to deal with this deteriorating situation. Moreover, the Régie de la Langue Française, charged with implementing the new policies, has no formal link to the Ministère de l'Education.

At the least, then, Québec's universities are not being fully utilized in the francisation program. At the most, this failure may endanger the success of the program itself in the key areas which will determine the future linguistic balance in the Québec business and industrial worlds.

Moreover, yet another problem exists, ivolving the relevance of cultural differences between French- and English-speaking Quebeckers. Like members of other developing societies, French Canadians look to their universities both as instruments of cultural transmission and as agents of economic development. Some evidence exists that French- and English-speaking Canadians share unequally in the "industrial culture." To some extent, then, the cultural patterns which French-speaking Quebeckers look to the universities to advance are incompatible with the goal of economic development. Thus, the cultural development of French Canada cannot be assumed to follow from the economic development of Québec. Moreover, it is possible that in the short run, the francophonisation and francisation programs can improve the position of French Canadians in the Québec economy only at the expense of the province's overall economic development.

With their view of language as the central element of culture, Québec educational planners have been able to emphasize the goal of economic development while assuming the universities' role as agents of cultural access. In this way, they have avoided considering the possibility that the French Canadian national goals of cultural and economic development are incompatible in light of current French Canadian cultural orientations. While the implications of this fact are serious, it is probable that changes will occur in the cultural orientations of French Canadians as they continue to improve their economic postion in the Québec work world.

Overall, then differences do exist between the relationship of universities and development in any society, and the concepts and expectations of them as held by French-speaking Quebeckers. The university's proper role

is less direct, and less deliberate, than French Canadians have demanded. Moreover, contrary to their understanding, the developmental goals of French Canadians cannot all be pursued to the fullest simultaneously. Rather, balances should be struck between the goals if economic and cultural development are both to occur in Québec. Undoubtedly, the differences between French Canada's expectations and the universities' capabilities to respond will assume a critical importance as members of that small, historically homogeneous society continue their attempts to harness all of their available institutions in pursuit of what they perceive as a critical national national objective, the overall development of Québec.

FOOTNOTES

1. Louis-Philippe Audet in Facets of French Canada (Ottawa: L'Association Canadienne des Educateurs de Langue Française, 1967), p. 104.

2. Québec (Province). Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Report, pt. 3 (Quebec: Pierre des Marais, 1966), p. 98.

3. Jean-Paul Desbiens, For Pity's Sake. trans, by Frederic Cote (Montreal: Harvest House, 1965), p. 114.

4. Donald E. Armstrong, Education and Economic Achievement, a document of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 92.

5. The future of the French language in Canada outside Quebec, dubious at best, depends in large measure on its relative strength within Quebec. Since its adoption by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism this has been a basic precept for federal planners concerned with the language situation in Canada.

6. Canada. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report, vol. 3a, The Work World (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Sept. 19, 1969), pt. 3.

7. André Barsony, "L'Université Québécoise: Eléments pour le Design Organisationnel à un Système d'Information Intégré," in René Hurtubise, ed., L'Université Québécoise du Proche Avenir (Montréal: Editions Hurtubise HMH, 1973), p. 231.

8. "Rapport du Comité des Objectifs de l'Enseignement Supérieur au Conseil des Universités soumis le 7 décembre 1972," in Hurtubise, L'Université Québécoise, p. 38.

9. Québec (Province). Commission d'Enquête sur la Langue Française et sur les Droits Linguistiques au Québec, Rapport, vol. 1 (Québec: décembre 1972), p. 12.

10. Ibid., p. 14.

11. Canada. Commission on Bilinguaism, Report, vol. 3b, p. 13.

12. Ibid., vol. 3b, p. 521.

13. Québec (Province). Commission sur la Langue, Rapport, vol. 3, Les Groupes Ethniques, p. 104.

14. Canada. Commission on Bilingualism, Report, vol. 3b, p. 472.

15. Ibid.

16. Québec (Province). Conseil des Universités, Quatrième Rapport Annuel 1972-73 (Québec, le 1er juillet 1973), p. 16.

17. The Parent Commission's original prediction that this would occur around 1981 was confirmed by the Conseil des Universites in 1972. Québec (Province). Conseil des Universités, Objectifs Généraux de l'Enseignement Supérieur et Grandes Orientations des Établissements, Cahier III: "Les Orientations des Universités dans les Annees 70," première version (Québec, le 14 mai 1972), p. 6.

18. Armstrong, Education and Achievement, pp. 70-71.

19. Ibid., p. 72.

20. R. N. Morrison, The Use of French and the Employment of Francophones in Business in Quebec, Study E14 prepared for the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec (Quebec: Editeur Officiel, 1973), p. 33.

21. Jacques Dofny, Les Ingenieurs Canadiens-Français et Canadiens-Anglais à Montréal, document de la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), p. 3.5.

22. It is probable that the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s will prove to have been the last popular movement led by the old elites of Quebec, albeit for non-traditional objectives. Robert Boily has concluded that the Quiet Revolution was led by a "traditonal political elite," whose members were recruited from predominantly rural and middle-class backgrounds. Most, he says, came from the liberal professions and the small industries and businesses of Quebec. Robert Boily, "Les Candidats Elus et Battus," in Vincent Lemieux, director, Quatre Elections Provinciales au Québec (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969).

23. Université du Quebec, Operation Grandes Orientations: Rapport Pour le Conseil des Universités, Cahier 1 (le 30 janvier 1975), p. 42. Disciplines are listed in French, as some divisions (i.e., "lettres") are organized differently at English-language universities.

24. The new Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionel offer public, secular and tuition-free education beyond the secondary level. Students may choose either a two-year university preparatory course roughly equivalent to the first two years of the liberal arts college, or a three-year vocational and technical course.

25. Université du Québec, Operation Grandes Orientations, p. 42.

26. Ibid. Of course, most of the increase here can be explained by overall enrollment increases at the Universite du Quebec during this period. Departments showing a 100% increase came into being between 1971 and 1974.

27. Ibid.

28. Université du Québec, Statistiques 1973-74, p. 15.

29. Guy Girard, La Production des Universités Québécoises et la Population de Formation Universitaire au Québec, Etude E5 realisee pour le compte de la Commission d'Enquete sur la Situation de la Langue Française et sur les Droits Linguistiques au Québec (Québec: Editeur Officiel au Québec, 1973), p. 88.

30. Ibid., p. 118.

31. Ibid., p. 177.

32. Ibid., p. 146.

33. Ibid., p. 175.

34. Ibid., p. 142.

35. Ibid., p. 129.

36. Roger Charbonneau, Politiques et Pratiques du Monde des Affaires Relativement au Bilinguisme et au Biculturalisme--Factueurs Explicatifs, vol. 2 of Robert N. Norrison et al., Corporate Policies and Practices with Respect to Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 5 vols., unpub. study prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

37. Once a private concern, Hydro-Quebec provides electric power to most areas of the province. After its nationalization, it was the first large corporation in Quebec to successfully promote--and eventually adopt--French as the sole working language at all levels of its operations. For the first time, French Canadians with suitable training could occupy managerial positions of a major corporation while remaining within a French Canadian cultural milieu. Its success in this venture, much more than the mere fact of its nationalization, accounts for the enthusiasm it aroused among French Canadians.

38. Canada. Commission on Bilingualism, Report, vol, 3b, p. 502.

39. Quebec (Province). Commission sur la Langue, Rapport, vol. 3b, p. 502.

40. Joshua A. Fishman, "The Sociology of Language," in George A. Miller, ed., Communication, Language and Meaning: Psychological Perspectives (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973), p. 277.

41. Serge Carlos, L'Utilisation du Français dans le Monde du Travail au Québec, Etude E3 realisée pour le compte de la Commission d'Enquête sur la Situation de la Langue Française et sur les Droits Linguistiques au Québec (Québec: Editeur Officiel du Québec, 1973), p. 37.

42. Ibid., p. 28.

43. Québec (Province). Commission sur la Langue, Rapport, vol. 1, p. 77.

44. Roger Mareschal et al, La Motivation des Enseignants et des Etudiants Francophones Face a la Situation Linguistique au Québec, Etude E10 realisée pour le compte de la Commission d'Enquête sur la Situation de la Langue Française et sur les Droits Linguistiques au Québec (Québec: Editeur Officiel du Québec, 1973).

45. Ibid., p. 469.

46. Avigdor Farine, Les Diplomés de l'Université de Montréal sur le Marché du Travail, dossier 5 of the Centre de Recherches en Développement Economique, Université de Montreal (juin 1974), p. 55.

47. Mareschal et al., La Motivation.

48. Jacques Poisson, "Nos Universités Sont-Elles Françaises?," Action Nationale, mars 1960, p. 568.

49. "Law 22" charged the Regie de la Langue Francaise with enforcing the government's policies of francisation. This organization has no formal link with the Ministere de l'Education, seemingly a grave oversight.

50. Peter C. Pineo and John Porter, French-English Differences in Evaluation of Occupations, Indsutries, Ethnicities and Religions in the Montreal Metropolitan Area, unpub. report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (October 1966), p. 3.

51. Ibid., p. 38.

52. Dofny, Les Ingénieurs.

53. Peter C. Briant and Daniel Hadekel, Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal, unpub. report presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (May 1966), p. 183.

54. Gilles A Auclair and William H. Read, Attitudes of French and English Canadians Toward Industrial Leadership, unpub. report presented to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (May 1966), p. 183.

55. Ibid., p. 505.

56. John C. Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society: An opinion Survey of Canadian Youth Thirteen to Twenty Years of Age, study no 2 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, p. 19.

57. S. J. Frankel, Study of Source Documents Dealing with Differences in Political Attitudes Between French and English Canadians, draft of unpub. study prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, p. 19.

58. Albert Breton, "The Economics of Nationalism," Journal of Political Economy vol. 52 no. 4 (August 1964), p. 379.